

# Exhibit C

## Declaration of Professor Lytle Hernández

Declaration of Professor Kelly Lytle Hernandez  
on the History of USC 1325/1326

I have been asked to make this declaration to explain my understanding of the history of USC 1326 and USC 1326. I am a professor of History, African American Studies, and Urban Planning at UCLA where I hold The Thomas E. Lifka Endowed Chair in History. One of the nation's leading experts on race, immigration, and mass incarceration, I am the author of the award-winning books, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (University of California Press, 2010), and *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017). *City of Inmates* recently won the 2018 James Rawley Prize from the Organization of American Historians, 2018 Athearn Prize from the Western Historical Association, the 2018 John Hope Franklin Book Prize from the American Studies Association, and the 2018 American Book Award. Both books, *Migra!* And *City of Inmates*, address the history of criminalizing undocumented immigration to the United States. In 2019, I was named a MacArthur "Genius" Fellow for my historical and contemporary work.

In 1929, the U.S. Congress first criminalized the act of entering the United States without authorization, making entering the United States without authorization a misdemeanor and re-entering the United States without authorization after deportation a felony. Although no racial group was named in the 1929 legislation, racial animus motivated the bill's author. Moreover, the politics of white supremacy dominated the politics of immigration control at the time. On these grounds, the individual racial animus of the original bill's author and the prevailing politics of immigration legislation leading into and during the 1920s, the criminalization of unauthorized entry was a racially motivated act. Unsurprisingly, the new law delivered racially disparate outcomes.

The modern system of federal immigration control began during the 1870s. Before that, states and cities largely set immigration policy. But the Panic of 1873 triggered a deep economic recession across the United States that exacerbated what scholars call "anti-Chinese sentiment" in the U.S. West, leading to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the United States for ten years. The act was a more restricted measure than demanded by hardline westerners, but as one of the new law's staunchest advocates explained, "If this law is strictly enforced it will not be many years before the [Chinese] race will, in all probability, be extinct in this country." Ten years later, Congress passed the Geary Act, which extended the ban on Chinese laborers and required all lawful Chinese immigrants to register with federal authorities. Those who failed to do so would be subject to arrest, imprisonment and then deportation. The 1892 Geary Act marked a sweeping expansion of U.S. immigration control. Prior to the Geary Act, Congress had adopted legislation to prohibit certain groups of persons from entering the United States. By 1891, Chinese laborers and all prostitutes, convicts, "lunatics," "idiots," contract laborers, and those "liable to become public charges" were categorically prohibited from entering the United States. All such persons were to be stopped at immigration stations, interrogated, and denied entry into the country. But after the Geary Act, immigrants who had already established residence within the United States were subject to forced removal. Therefore, the

broadened the basic framework of U.S. immigration control beyond the nation's borders to include deportation from within the United States.

Since 1892, U.S. authorities have deported or otherwise forcibly removed more than fifty million people from the United States. In the early years of deportation, many of the nation's deportees were Chinese immigrants. The Chinese Mounted Guard, which was established to police unlawful Chinese immigration in border regions, apprehended and deported thousands. But, by 1924, the focus of exclusion at U.S. borders and removal from within U.S. borders changed, turning toward the rising number of Mexican immigrants entering the United States.

Few Mexicans immigrated to the United States at the close of the nineteenth century. But a period of land privatization in Mexico paired with agricultural development in the southwestern United States soon triggered an unprecedented wave of mass labor migration between Mexico and the United States. By the early 1900s, tens of thousands of Mexicans entered the United States every year. Most arrived in search of work and engaged in seasonal migrations between work in the United States and home in Mexico. By the 1920s, Mexicans made more than 1 million border crossings every year and emerged as the majority low-wage workforce in many southwestern industries. As the president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce explained, "We are totally dependent . . . upon Mexico for agricultural and industrial common or casual labor. It is our only source of supply."

But Mexican immigrants were more than common and casual laborers. Living and working in the United States, Mexicans formed communities and associations, built homes, raised families, joined labor unions, and established everything from newspapers and businesses to bands and baseball teams. Building what has been described as MexAmerica and raising the first generation of Mexican Americans, Mexican immigrants made full and permanent lives for themselves and their children—an increasing number of whom were U.S.-born citizens—in the United States.

The rise of MexAmerica made Mexican immigration a hot topic in the U.S. Congress during the 1920s. In a decade now remembered as the "Tribal Twenties"—a time when the Ku Klux Klan was reborn, Jim Crow came of age, and public intellectuals preached the science of eugenics—many representatives, especially those popularly known as "Nativists," hoped to restrict and even end immigration to the United States from every region of the world other than western Europe.<sup>3</sup> In the past, they argued, slaveholders had made a terrible mistake by importing Africans to the country in the blind pursuit of profit. Nothing could be done to undo the tragedy of slavery—the introduction of Africans to the country, that is—but, they hoped, new immigration laws would limit the future peopling of the United States.

For them, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had been just the beginning of an enduring effort to restrict immigration to the United States. In the years that followed the 1882 law, Congress further restricted who could legally enter the United States. By 1917, Congress had banned all Asian immigration to the United States and also categorically prohibited all prostitutes, convicts, anarchists, epileptics, "lunatics," "idiots," contract laborers, and those

“liable to become public charges” from entering the United States. Moreover, Congress adopted a fee structure and literacy test designed to keep the poor and illiterate from entering the country. Many Nativists still wanted more. In particular, they demanded a comprehensive whites-only immigration system

In 1924, the Nativists scored a major legislative victory with the passage of the National Origins Act. The law affirmed all previous immigration restrictions, such as the total bans on contract laborers, epileptics, anarchists, polygamists, criminals, and all Asian immigrants. The 1924 law also required all immigrants to submit to inspection at a U.S. immigration station, where they would have to pass a literacy test and a health exam and pay \$18 in head taxes and visa fees before legally entering the country. Only western Europeans, they believed, would be able to pass such exams and pay the fees required for legal entry into the United States. Finally, the 1924 National Origins Act also established a system of national quotas that limited the total number of immigrants allowed to enter the country each year. The quota system constituted what historian John Higham has described as a “Nordic victory” by narrowing the pathways of legal immigration to allow only a particular portion of the world’s population to enter: 96 percent of all quota slots were reserved for European immigrants.

However, to pass the National Origins Act, the Nativists in Congress made a painful compromise. Employers across the southwestern United States vehemently opposed the quota system. At a time when U.S. immigration authorities counted 100,000 Mexicans crossing the border each year, the quota system would limit Mexican immigration to a few hundred border crossers annually. The quota system threatened to cut the surge of Mexican immigration to a trickle. But industries in the West had become “dependent” on Mexican labor, explained employers, who voiced their opposition to the new law. Under pressure from these employers, a bloc of congressmen from western states refused to vote for a comprehensive quota system, forcing the Nativists in Congress to choose between accepting a Mexican quota exemption or passing no immigration law at all. The westerners won. Therefore, the 1924 National Origins Act exempted all immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, including Mexican immigrants, from the quota system. So long as Mexican immigrants complied with the administrative requirements for legal entry—submitted to inspection at an official port of entry, passed the literacy test and health exam, and paid the \$18 head tax—an unlimited number of them could enter the United States each year.

Nativists chafed at the Western Hemisphere exemption. As one congressmen complained during the 1924 hearings, “what is the use of closing the front door to keep out undesirables from Europe when you permit Mexicans to come in here by the back door by the thousands and thousands?” After the passage of the 1924 National Origins Act, the nativists campaigned to add Mexico’s migrant workers to the quota system. Mexico was a nation of mongrels, they argued. As such, Mexicans were unassimilable racial inferiors and unrestricted Mexican immigration jeopardized the core objective of the National Origins Act. “The continuance of a desirable character of citizenship is the fundamental purpose of our immigration laws. Incidental to this are the avoidance of social and racial problems, the upholding of American standards of wages and living, and the maintenance of order. All of

these purposes will be violated by increasing the Mexican population of the country,” explained Congressman John C. Box (Texas) who co-sponsored a 1926 bill to limit Mexican immigration to the United States. The growers defeated the 1926 Box Bill but the nativists tried again in 1928 arguing that the exemption for Mexican workers needed to be terminated because, as they forebodingly warned, “Our great Southwest is rapidly creating for itself a new racial problem, as our old South did when it imported slave labor from Africa.”

Throughout their debates with the nativists, southwestern growers fully agreed with the notion that Mexico’s immigrant workers presented a “racial problem” and thereby conceded the nativists’ point that Mexican immigration posed a threat to American society. As S. Parker Frisselle of the California Farm Bureau Federation explained during the 1926 hearings, “with the Mexican comes a social problem...It is a serious one. It comes into our schools, it comes into our cities, and it comes into our whole civilization in California.” But after assuring the nativists that “We, gentlemen, are just as anxious as you are not to build the civilization of California or any other western district upon a Mexican foundation,” the growers countered the nativists’ call to place a numerical limit upon Mexican immigration to the United States by arguing that without unrestricted access to Mexican workers, the rising empire of agribusinesses in the American southwest would turn to ruin. Instead of ending Mexican immigration, they offered the nativists a promise. “We, in California,” vowed Friselle, “think we can handle that social problem.” For, as another agribusinessman from Texas testified, “if we could not control the Mexicans and they would take this country it would be better to keep them out, but we can and do control them.”

The pledge that “we can and do control them” referred to the social world of agribusiness in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Agribusinessmen and the demands of their enterprises dominated the political, social, and cultural life of borderland communities as the racialized organization of work refracted throughout community life. Whites held land or managed workers while Mexicanos harvested, plowed, picked, tended, reaped, and migrated. As Devra Weber, Paul Schuster Taylor, and others have detailed, the racialized divisions in California were so crude that “the owners and top managers were white: foremen, contractors and workers were Mexican.”<sup>[8]</sup> In Texas, one young white farmer explained that white landholders and tenants lived a life of leisure because “we have the Mexicans here and don’t work.”<sup>[9]</sup> The hierarchy between Anglo-American landowners, white managers, and Mexicano workers reverberated throughout the region where highly racialized practices of social segregation, political repression, and community violence accompanied the patterns of economic exploitation that locked the region’s large Mexicano population in low-wage work. From Texas to California, white and Mexicano children attended separate and unequal schools. Poll taxes and political bosses effectively disenfranchised Mexicano voters. Mexicans had limited employment options outside of agriculture. Police violence against Mexicanos was common. And, where it was most extensive, “No Negroes, Mexicans, or Dogs” signs were posted on restaurant doors.

While the quota system reduced immigration from most corners of the world Mexican immigration soared. In fact, by the end of the 1920s Mexico became one of the leading sources

of immigration to the United States. This unnerved the Nativists. Mexicans, they hollered, were “peons,” “mongrels,” and “racially unfit for [U.S.] citizenship.” Mexican immigration, they believed, threatened to degrade the nation’s “Aryan” stock. It needed to be stopped. But according to the 1924 Immigration Act, an unlimited number of Mexicans would be allowed to enter the United States every year. All Mexicans had to do was travel to an official port of entry anywhere along the U.S.–Mexico border, submit to inspection, pass the literacy test and health exam, and pay—or have paid by their employers—the \$18 entrance fee. Mexicans did this one million times during the 1920s. On top of this, many Mexicans crossed the border without officially registering for legal entry. They evaded the expense and inconvenience of legal entry and, instead, simply crossed the border along its many desolate stretches between ports of entry. The U.S. Immigration Service estimated that Mexicans made an estimated half-million unauthorized border crossings during the 1920s. With western industries continuing to expand, every indicator suggested that Mexican immigration, both authorized and unauthorized, would only increase in the years ahead. The continued threat of Mexico’s “mongrels” migrating into the United States undermined the Nativists’ Nordic victory of 1924.

But the Nativists in Congress never gave up their quest to end Mexican immigration to the United States. After the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act, they proposed bill after bill attempting to add Mexico to the quota system. Between 1926 and 1930, Congress repeatedly debated the future of Mexican immigration into the United States. Each time, employers—namely those in the business of industrial agriculture in the U.S. West—protested. S. Parker Frisselle was the first person to testify before Congress when the Mexican quota hearings began in January 1926. An influential farmer and lobbyist from California, Frisselle was a leading voice among the dozens of agribusiness owners who journeyed to Congress to support unrestricted Mexican immigration to the United States. Immigration control, Frisselle conceded, was one of Congress’s most sacred duties. Immigrants, he explained, were permanent residents who, in time, became U.S. citizens. Congress, therefore, rightly passed laws to restrict, limit, and filter immigration to the United States. Thus Frisselle supported the Nativists’ pursuit of immigration restriction. “We, gentlemen,” he testified, “are just as anxious as you are not to build the civilization of California or any other western district upon a Mexican foundation.”

However, argued Frisselle, Mexicans were not immigrants. “There is . . . in the minds of many the thought that the Mexican is an immigrant,” explained Frisselle. That thought was wrong, he assured. “The Mexican,” he testified, “does not remain.” “He always goes back,” promised Frisselle. “The Mexican,” continued Frisselle, “is a ‘homer.’ Like the pigeon he goes home to roost.” On this promise that Mexicans were “bird[s] of passage” who would, at the end of each season, return to Mexico, never settling north of the border and never becoming Mexican American, the western lobby defeated the 1926 bill to cap Mexican immigration to the United States.

Two years later, as Congress continued to debate Mexican immigration, George C. Clements, a lobbyist from Los Angeles, emerged as a leader among the western agribusinessmen. As the director of the Agricultural Bureau of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Clements’s full-time occupation was the protection and advancement of

the interests of agribusiness. An evangelist for unrestricted Mexican immigration, he traveled around Los Angeles and throughout the southwest lecturing on the topic. He also provided research to congressional committees, consulted with California's governors, organized industry wide meetings, and vigorously confronted all challenges to the organization of agriculture in the West. When liberal academics challenged the inequities of agribusiness, Clements picked apart their claims in counterstudies and editorials. Indefatigable, Clements was a driving force behind the western lobby for unrestricted Mexican immigration.

According to Clements, just one fact mattered in the Mexican immigration debate. The fact, as Clements put it, was that Mexican immigrants were "swallows": like migrating birds, they would never permanently settle within the United States. Mexicans, he explained, "have no intention of becoming citizens within the United States." A Mexican would not settle in the United States because "his homing instincts take him back to Mexico." But if the homing instinct of Mexico's swallows were ever to falter, "we need not be burdened with his keep." Estimating that 80 percent of California's Mexican working population had entered the country without authorization, Clements assured worried Nativists that Mexicans could be forcibly removed from the country. "He is deportable," Clements wrote, lectured, and testified. Mexican deportability, argued Clements, was a social fact that Congress could depend on when voting to leave Mexican immigration unrestricted.

Clements also asked the opponents of unrestricted Mexican immigration to carefully consider one question before voting against it. That question, according to Clements, had nothing to do with Mexicans. It had to do with blacks. "The one problem which should give us pause is the negro problem," explained Clements. "I warn you. American business has no conscience. If the Mexican is denied us, the [Puerto Rican] negro will come," he cautioned. Knowing his adversary well, Clements baited the nervous Nativists of the Tribal Twenties. "Which do you choose," he asked, Mexico's deportable birds of passage or Puerto Rican Negroes who, as citizens, would leave the edge of U.S. empire to settle within the final frontier of Anglo-America? "When once here always here," warned Clements; the Puerto Rican Negro would pose "a continual social problem and a growing menace. You can not deport him." The only real question, therefore, was whether Congress would open the Anglo-American West to permanent black settlement or make its peace with Mexico's birds of passage. Itinerant, impermanent, and disposable Mexican labor migration, he offered, was the only real solution for the development of the American West.

But by 1929, the western promises of Mexican impermanence had worn thin. Mexican immigration was soaring. Ten percent of the Mexican population already lived north of the border. How many more Mexicans would cross the border to settle in the United States? Nativists in Congress pounded the western employers for answers, charging them with recklessly courting the nation's racial doom with unrestricted migration from Mexico. Western employers refused to budge. At this moment, amid the escalating conflict between Anglo-American employers in the West and anxious Nativists in Congress, a senator from Dixie proposed a compromise.



A proud and unreconstructed white supremacist, Coleman Livingston Blease hailed from the hills of South Carolina. When Blease was elected to the state assembly in 1889, his first legislative proposal was a bill to racially segregate all railroad cars in South Carolina. The bill failed, but in the years ahead, Blease successfully rode a rising wave of rabid antiblack racism to the South Carolina governorship and then, in 1925, to the U.S. Senate. The self-appointed “political heir” to “Pitchfork” Ben Tillman, Senator Blease was, according to one biographer, touched by a strain of “Negro-phobia that knew no bounds.”

When Blease marched into Congress in 1925, he was prepared to battle any perceived threat to white supremacy. He was against the idea of a world court because he opposed any “court where we [Anglo-Americans] are to sit side by side with a full blooded ‘nigger.’” In this case, Blease referred to the possibility of a Haitian judge being appointed to the world court. In terms of immigration control, Blease campaigned on 100 percent Americanism, and once in Congress, he feverishly opposed any attempt to roll back immigration restriction and pushed Congress to prohibit the U.S. government from hiring noncitizens. The bill was rejected three times. He also proposed limiting the voting rights of naturalized citizens. This, too, Congress rejected. But in early 1929, as Congress was locked in an unending debate over the rise of Mexican immigration to the United States, it was Senator Coleman Livingston Blease from South Carolina who negotiated a settlement between the congressional Nativists and western agribusinessmen during the Tribal Twenties.

Blease shifted the conversation to controlling unauthorized Mexican migration rather than capping authorized migration. Citing the large number of unauthorized border crossings made by Mexicans each year, Senator Blease proposed criminalizing unlawful entry into the United States. Mexicans regularly crossed the border without authorization, making them particularly vulnerable to prosecution and incarceration according to Blease’s bill. According to Senator Blease’s proposal, “unlawfully entering the country” would be a misdemeanor punishable by a \$1,000 fine and/or up to one year in prison, while unlawfully returning to the United States after deportation would be a felony punishable by a \$1,000 fine and/or up to two years in prison. As written, the new law would affect any immigrant who unlawfully entered the United States, but it was introduced into Congress as a measure to control and punish unlawful Mexican immigrants, in particular. To this, the western agribusinessmen registered no protest. Mexican deportability, after all, was an asset to agribusinessmen in search of a temporary labor force. As Frisselle put it in 1926, “We, in California, would greatly prefer some set up in which our peak labor demands might be met and upon the completion of our harvest these laborers returned to their country.” Like deportation, the criminalization of unauthorized entry only strengthened the position of agribusiness owners. On March 4, 1929, Congress passed Blease’s bill. Within one year, Blease’s law was delivering results.

With stunning precision, the criminalization of unlawful entry caged thousands of Mexico’s proverbial birds of passage. Within one year of enforcement, U.S. attorneys prosecuted 7,001 cases of unlawful entry. By 1939, they had prosecuted more than 44,000 cases. In no year did the U.S. attorneys’ conviction rate fall below 93 percent of all immigration cases.



Taking custody of individuals convicted on federal immigration charges, the U.S. Bureau of Prisons reported that Mexicans never comprised less than 84.6 percent of all imprisoned immigrants. Some years, Mexicans comprised 99 percent of immigration offenders. Therefore, by the end of the 1930s, tens of thousands of Mexicans had been arrested, charged, prosecuted, and imprisoned for unlawfully entering the United States. With 71 percent of all Mexican federal prisoners charged with immigration crimes, no other federal legislation—not prohibition, not drug laws, and neither laws against prostitution nor the Mann act—sent more Mexicans to federal prison during those years.

Clearly, the archival record marks the criminalization of unauthorized entry as a racially motivated act that quickly delivered racially disparate outcomes.

DATED: August 2, 2020

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kelly Lytle H". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letter of each word being capitalized and prominent.

Kelly Lytle Hernandez

**Professor Kelly Lytle Hernández**

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**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Department of History, University of California at Los Angeles, 1998 - 2002

B.A., Department of Ethnic Studies, University of California at San Diego, 1992 - 1996

**ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

Director, Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA, July 1, 2019 to present

Tom Lifka Endowed Chair in History (UCLA), July 1, 2019 to present

Interim Director, Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA, July 1, 2017 to June 30, 2019

Professor, departments of History, African American Studies, and Urban Planning, July 1, 2017 to present

Associate Professor, Department of History, University of California at Los Angeles, 2010 - 2017

Director, UCLA Public History Initiative, 2012 - 2014

Associate Director, National Center for History in the Schools, 2010 - 2012

Associate Director, Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California at Los Angeles, 2008 - 2010

Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of California at Los Angeles, 2004 - 2010

University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2002 - 2004

Research Fellow, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego, 2001 - 2002

Research Fellow, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego, 2001 - 2002

Visiting Scholar, Immigration and Naturalization Service Historical Library, Washington, D.C., 2000

### **MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECTS**

*Bad Mexicans* (forthcoming from Norton Books)

Million Dollar Hoods ([milliondollarhoods.org](http://milliondollarhoods.org))

*City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771 – 1965* (University of North Carolina Press, April 2017).

*MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

### **AWARDS and PRIZES**

Commendation from the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors for work on incarceration and immigration (November 19, 2020)

[2019 John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellow](#)

[2019 Catalyst Award](#). Awarded CADRE for Million Dollar Hoods

[2018 Local Hero Award \(KCET\)](#). Awarded for Million Dollar Hoods as well as historical scholarship on the rise of mass incarceration in Los Angeles.

2018 John Hope Franklin Prize for most outstanding book in American Studies. Awarded by the American Studies Association for *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1781-1965* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

2018 Athearn Book Award for the best book on the history of the twentieth-century American West. Awarded by the Western History Association for *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1781-1965* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

2018 American Book Award for excellence in American literature. Awarded by the Before Columbus Foundation for *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1781-1965* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

2018 FREEDOM NOW! AWARD. Awarded for Million Dollar Hoods by the Los Angeles Community Action Network.

2018 John A. Rawley Prize for best book in U.S. race relations. Awarded by the Organization of American Historians for *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1781-1965* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017)

2015 Louis Knott Koontz Award for best article published in *Pacific Historical Review*, American Historical Association – Pacific Coast Branch. Awarded by the Board of Editors of the *Pacific Historical Review* to “Hobos in Heaven: Race, Incarceration, and the Rise of Los Angeles, 1880 -1910.”

2010 Clements Book Award, Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. Awarded for *MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*.

Honorable Mention, 2010 Lora Romero First Book Prize, American Studies Association

Honorable Mention, 2010 John Hope Franklin Book Prize, American Studies Association

2007 Oscar O. Winther Prize for the best article published in the *Western Historical Quarterly* (2006). Awarded by the Board of Editors of the *Western Historical Quarterly* to “The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943-1954,” *Western Historical Quarterly* (Winter 2006), 421-444.

2007 Bolton-Kinnaird Prize in Borderlands History. Awarded by the Western History Association to “The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943-1954,” *Western Historical Quarterly* (Winter 2006), 421-444.

Norris F. Hundley Dissertation Prize (UCLA), 2002.

### **SELECTED ESSAYS and ARTICLES**

Kelly Lytle Hernández, “The Rise of Mass Incarceration in Los Angeles,” in *Care First, Jails Last: Health and Racial Justice Strategies for Safer Communities* (Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Work Group Final Report, February 2020)

Kelly Lytle Hernández, guest editor for “Carceral West,” a Special Volume of *Pacific Historical Review* (January 2019)

Kelly Lytle Hernández, “Reforming Deportees: Imprisonment and Immigration Control during the 1930s,” *Beyond the Borders of the Law: Critical Legal Histories of the North American West*, eds., Katrina Jagodinsky and Pablo Mitchell (University of Kansas Press, 2018), 263-280.

Kelly Lytle Hernández, Khalil Gibran Muhammad, and Heather Ann Thompson, co-editors and co-authors of “Constructing the Carceral State,” in “Constructing the Carceral State,” a Special Volume of the *Journal of American History* (June 2015).

“Hobos in Heaven: Race, Incarceration, and the Rise of Los Angeles, 1880 -1910,” *Pacific Historical Review* v. 83, n. 3 (August 2014), 410-447.

“The Deportees: Mexican Immigration and the Rise of U.S. Immigration Control during the 1920s,” in Rafael G. Alarcón Acosta and Fernando Saúl Alanís Enciso, ed. *Historia de la Migración Mexicana a Estados Unidos. Visiones Comparadas* (Siglo XIX, 2013).

“Amnesty or Abolition? Felons, Illegal Immigrants and America’s Unfinished Abolition Movement,” *Boom: A Journal of California* (Winter 2012), 54-68.

“Borderlands and the Future History of the American West,” *Western Historical Quarterly* v 42, n 3 (Autumn 2011), 325-330.

Interchange participant, “Latino History: An Interchange on Present Realities and Future Prospects,” v 97, n 2 *Journal of American History* (September 2010), 424-463.

“Mexican/Central American Migration to the United States,” *OAH Magazine of History* v 23 (October 2009), 25-30.

Kelly Lytle Hernández and Pablo Yankelevich, eds. “Dossier 1: The Archive,” *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* (Spring 2009).

Kelly Lytle Hernández and Pablo Yankelevich, “An Introduction to el Archivo Histórico del Instituto Nacional de Migración,” *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* (Spring 2009).

“Persecuted Like Criminals: The Politics of Labor Emigration and Mexican Migration Controls during the 1920s and 1930s,” *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* (Spring 2009).

“The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943-1954,” *Western Historical Quarterly* v 37, n 4 (Winter 2006), 421-444.

“Ni blancos ni negros: mexicanos y el papel de la patrulla fronteriza estadounidense en la definición de una nueva categoría racial, 1924-1940,” *Cuicuilco* v 11, n 31 (Mayo-Agosto 2004), 85-104.

*Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1900 – 1999: A Sourcebook for Teachers*, published by the National Center for History in the Schools (Fall 2002).

#### **POLICY REPORTS and ARTICLES**

Co-author, [“Immigration Enforcement at the Orange County Jail,”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), June 11, 2019

Co-author, [“Bookings into the Los Angeles County Jail \(2010-2016\): A Million Dollar Hoods White Paper prepared for the Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Work Group.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), June 11, 2019

Co-Author, [“The Los Angeles Police Department’s Metropolitan Division,”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods, April 2, 2019.

Co-author, [“Women in the Los Angeles County Jail: An Analysis of LASD Booking Data \(2010-2016\).”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), January 8, 2019

Co-author, [“Policing Our Students.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), October 30, 2018.

Co-author, [“The Price of Freedom: Bail in the City of L.A.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), May 14, 2018.

Co-author, [“Policing the Unemployed in Los Angeles.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), May 2, 2018.

Co-author, [“Race, Cannabis, and Recent Disparities in Cannabis Enforcement by the LAPD.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), February 28, 2018.

Co-author, [“Access to Freedom: Caged L.A.”](#) *Items: Insights from the Social Sciences* (Social Science Research Council), February 20, 2018

Co-author, [“Policing the Houseless 2.0.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), December 5, 2017

Co-author, [“The Price for Freedom: Bail in the City of Los Angeles.”](#) (Million Dollar Hoods), December 5, 2017

Co-author, "[Policing the Houseless](#)," (Million Dollar Hoods), October 10, 2017

"How Crossing the U.S.-Mexico Border Became a Crime," *The Conversation*, April 30, 2017.

"Largest Deportation Campaign in U.S. History is No Match for Trump's Plan," *The Conversation*, March 8, 2017.

"America's Mass Deportation System is Rooted in Racism," *The Conversation*, February 26, 2017

**SELECTED BOARDS and PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

National Book Award, 2019 Literature for Justice Committee, April 2019 to present

Society of American Historians, elected member, 2019 - present

Los Angeles Civic Memory Working Group, 2019 - present

Appointed by Supervisor Hilda Solis to the Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Workgroup, co-chair of the Data and Research Committee, March 2019 to March 2020.

Chair, American Talent Initiative Faculty Committee (UCLA)

Committee Member, Time to Degree Taskforce (UCLA)

Foundation Board Member, ACLU of Southern California, March 2018 – present

UC Systemwide Faculty Advisory Committee, UCLA representative, UC President's Postdoctoral Fellowship Program, 2017 to present

Editorial Board Member, *The Journal of American History*, March 2017 – present

Program co-chair with Andrew Graybill (Southern Methodist University) and Katherine Benton-Cohen (Georgetown University), Western History Association 2017 Annual Meeting, current

Editorial Board, David J. Weber Series in New Borderlands History, University of North Carolina Press, 2012 – present

*American Quarterly*, Managing Board, 2010 – 2014

*Western Historical Quarterly*, Editorial Board, 2011 – 2014

*LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, Contributing Editor, current

Distinguished Speaker, Western History Association, 2012-2016

Distinguished Lecturer, Organization of American Historians, 2011 - present

Organization of American Historians, member and 2013 Program Committee member

## **SELECTED MEDIA INTERVIEWS**

Interview for *Factually! With Adam Conover*, episode title, ["The Racist Roots of America's Immigration Laws."](#) Originally aired on February 18, 2020.

Interview for United States of Anxiety (WNYC), episode title, ["Fragility in Liberty."](#) Originally aired February 20, 2020.

["LAUSD Plans to Expand List of Offenses Eligible for Diversion to Reduce Racially Disparate School Arrests."](#) WitnessLA, October 7, 2019

["San Diego Native Wins MacArthur "Genius" Grant."](#) Midday Edition, KPBS San Diego, October 3, 2019

["Los Angeles Working to Expand Diversion Programs to Further Reduce Student Arrests and Increase Services."](#) LAUSD Press Release, October 1, 2019.

[Live television interview about MacArthur grant](#), Univision, September 30, 2019.

[Live radio interview about MacArthur grant on Press Play with Madeleine Brand](#), KCRW, September 26, 2019

["Rebel Historian Who Reframes History Receives MacArthur Genius Grant."](#) All Things Considered," National Public Radio, September 25, 2019.

["MacArthur Genius Grant Winners of 2019: The Full List."](#) New York Times, September 25, 2019

["Who's behind the law making undocumented immigrants criminals? An 'unrepentant white supremacist.'" Washington Post](#), June 27, 2019.

Live radio interview on Worldview with Steve Bynum on WBEZ (Chicago), June 27, 2019.

["Million Dollar Hoods: Why L.A. Cages More People than Any Other City."](#) *Justice Not Jails*, July 4, 2018.

["Councilmember Harris-Dawson Joins Community Groups to Urge State and Local Officials to End Cash Bail: New study from UCLA's Million Dollar Hoods Project highlights the disproportionate Price for Freedom."](#) *Los Angeles Sentinel*, May 17, 2018.

[Mother's Day Bailout press conference](#) (Skid Row, Los Angeles), May 10, 2018

["We Live as Second-Class Citizens: What It's Like to Face Border Patrol Agents Every Day."](#) *The Guardian*, May 3, 2018.

["Many Latinos Answer Call of the Border Patrol in Age of Trump."](#) *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 2018.

Mexican Americans and the History of U.S. Anti-Cannabis Laws, *Mitu* (first posted February 2018)



["The American Detention Machine,"](#) *The Atlantic*, February 23, 2018

["The Double Punishment for Black Undocumented Immigrants,"](#) *The Atlantic*, December 30, 2017 (interviewee)

[On-camera interview,](#) *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, C-SPAN Book TV (2017)

["Life on a Million Dollar Block,"](#) six-week "Off the Block" series for KCRW (NPR affiliate) based on Million Dollar Hoods mapping project. September/October 2016.

Interviews with the following outlets in response to Donald Trump's deportation and border enforcement strategy: *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *The Intercept*, and *FactCheck.org*.

["A Two-Minute History of Operation Wetback"](#) . CNN. First aired January 2016.

Podcast, "The Carceral State," *Journal of American History*. Conducted June 2015.

On-air interview, "States, Feds Battle over Border Control," *The World* hosted by Marco Werman for Public Radio International. Interview conducted in July 2010.

On-camera interview for History Channel production entitled, "El Camino Real" on the history of the Spanish mission system in California. Interview conducted on August 11, 2005

Consultant and on-camera interview for History Channel production entitled, "The Border Patrol." Interview conducted spring 2001.

### **SELECTED TALKS, PRESENTATIONS, AND LECTURES**

Guest Speaker, American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, October 4, 2019

City of Inmates book talk, The Bail Project (Los Angeles), June 25, 2019

Nation of Settlers, Build Power! Launch Party (Hollywood), May 16, 2019

Million Dollar Hoods, Institute for Research on Labor and Employment (UC Berkeley), May 14, 2019

Keynote, Nation of Settlers, Teaching History Conference (UCLA), May 3, 2019

Keynote, City of Inmates book talk, Los Angeles County Alternatives to Incarceration Workgroup Retreat, April 26, 2019

Keynote, Million Dollar Hoods, Oberlin College, April 24, 2019

Keynote, Immigrant Detention Conference, University of Maryland, March 28, 2019

Keynote, Immigration Conference, California State University, Sacramento, March 7, 2019

Panelist, The Future of Incarceration, The State of Black California Conference (Sacramento, CA), February 27, 2019

City of Inmates book talk, Marquette University, February 21, 2019

City of Inmates book talk, University of Wisconsin - Madison, February 22, 2019

Keynote, Mass Deportation/Incarceration, LatinoJustice, November 16, 2018

Panelist, "Sorry to Bother You" Screening at UCLA, November 6, 2018

Panelist, Men's Empowerment Conference hosted by KJLH and Senator Bradford at California State University, Dominguez Hills, September 8, 2018.

Keynote, New Left Coast Forum hosted by *L.A. Progressive* at Los Angeles Trade Tech, August 24, 2018.

Panelist, People Power Conference sponsored by the Community Coalition (South Central Los Angeles), June 9, 2018.

Presentation, "The Facts and Fictions of Latinos and the U.S. Criminal Justice System," LatinoJustice convening at UCLA, May 29, 2018

*City of Inmates* book talk, California Historical Society (San Francisco, CA), May 23, 2018.

*City of Inmates* book talk for Los Angeles Department of Public Health, May 31, 2018.

Guest Presentation, Women and Incarceration in LA, for A New Way of Life Fundraiser (Los Angeles), May 19, 2018.

Press conference on money bail. Sponsored by Community Coalition (South Central Los Angeles), May 15, 2018.

Comments, Dream Mentor Program organized by the Miller Center at the University of Virginia (Charlottesville, CA), May 10, 2018.

Keynote, Caughey Foundation Lecture at the Autry Museum (Los Angeles, CA), April 29, 2018

Keynote, Public Records and the Movement to End Mass Incarceration, California Public Records and Open Meetings Conference (Los Angeles, CA), April 27, 2018

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, University of North Texas (Denton, TX), April 26, 2018.

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, Pan-African Studies Department at California State University, Los Angeles (Los Angeles, CA), April 23, 2018.

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, Main Museum (Los Angeles, CA), April 19, 2018.

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, Cerritos Community College (Los Angeles, CA), April 19, 2018.

Panelist, Crimmigration, Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting (Sacramento, CA) April 12, 2018

Keynote, Death by Police conference at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 11, 2018

Public Talk, Labor and the Crisis of Mass Incarceration, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 770 (Los Angeles, CA), March 15, 2018

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, University of California, Berkeley, March 14, 2018.

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, California State University, Channel Islands, February 28, 2018.

Moderator for a public conversation with Patrisse Khan-Cullors and Asha Bandele, *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir* (2018) at The California Endowment (Los Angeles, CA), February 14, 2018

Book talk, *City of Inmates*, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, January 25, 2018.

Moderator for a public Conversation with Heather Anne Thompson, *Blood in the Water: The 1971 Attica Uprising and its Legacy* at the Los Angeles Public Library, January 18, 2018.

Panelist, District 2 Town Hall, hosted by JusticeLA and White People for Black Lives, (Hollywood, CA), January 11, 2018.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates*, University of Southern California (Los Angeles, CA), January 10, 2018.

Panelist, #SocialJustice with Common and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (Los Angeles, CA), January 6, 2018

Project Talk, Million Dollar Hoods, UCLA Medical School, December 15, 2017

Book Talk, Watts Labor Community Action Center, December 14, 2017.

Expert Witness, Civil Society Meeting on Criminalization of Poverty and Homelessness with United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights Professor Philip Alston, (Los Angeles, CA), December 4-5, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, California State University, San Bernardino, (San Bernardino, CA), November 28, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles* ACLU-Southern California (Los Angeles, CA), November 19, 2017.

Presenter, UCLA Luskin Center for History and Policy, November 15, 2017.

Keynote Speaker, Eqbal Ahmed Symposium, Hampshire College (Amherst, MA), November 9, 2017.

Panelist, Historians and Activism, Western History Association (San Diego, CA), November 3, 2017.

Closing Speaker, Race and Capitalism Conference, UCLA, October 20, 2017.

Presenter, UCLA Criminal Justice Faculty Workgroup, October 18, 2017.

Panelist, Beyond the Bars Conference, University of California, Los Angeles, October 14, 2017.

Presenter, The Racial and Sexual Politics of Migrancy and Border Control, University of Michigan Centennial Event, October 13, 2017

Keynote Address/Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Latino Studies University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, MI), October 12, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Warren Center at Harvard University (Cambridge, MA), September 19, 2017.

LAPD Recruit Training Session. Los Angeles, CA, August 14, 2017.

Million Dollar Hoods, Building Healthy Communities – Long Beach, California, August 9, 2017

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Book Soup (Hollywood, CA), August 6, 2017.

Plenary Panel, Labor and Working Class History Association 2017 Meeting (Seattle, WA), June 22, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Skylight Books (Los Angeles, CA), May 18, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, University of California, San Diego, May 18, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Claremont College of Theology (Claremont, CA), May 2, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Eso Won Book Store (Los Angeles, CA), April 26, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Occidental College (Pasadena, CA), April 25, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, California State Univeristy, Dominguez Hills, April, 20, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Tarleton College (Texas), April 18, 2017.

Book Talk, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles*, Southern Methodist University (Dallas, Texas), April 17, 2017.

Keynote, Western History Association Lecture at University of Oklahoma. April 13, 2017.

Keynote, National Humanities Center, March 30, 2017.

Presenter, Laying Down the Law Symposium at University of Nebraska at Lincoln, November 16-17, 2017.

Million Dollar Hoods, South Central (Los Angeles) Re-Entry Coalition, September 11, 2016.

Million Dollar Hoods, California Endowment, September 18, 2016.

Plenary Session/Podcast, "Behind the Scholar's Studio: Inside the World of Latino Studies," American Historical Association – Pacific Coast Branch. August 6, 2016.

Public Lecture, "Caged Birds: Immigration Control and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment in the United States," Franklin and Marshall College. Lancaster, Pennsylvania. March 21, 2016.

Presenter, Immigration since 1965 Conference hosted at University of Texas, Austin. March 4-5, 2016.

Public talk, "Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment in the United States," Puget Sound University. February 29, 2016.

Discussant, UCLA Emerging Immigration Scholars Conference. February 26, 2016.

Keynote Address, "Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment in the United States," Caged/Uncaged Graduate Student Conference. University of California, Los Angeles. January 29, 2016.

Keynote Address, "Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment in the United States," Borderlands Conference, University of Texas at El Paso. November 6, 2015.

Lecture, "The Colonial Origins of the Carceral State," From the Color Line to the Carceral State: Policing, Prisons, and Surveillance in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries conference, Stony Brook University and Fairfield University. October 27-28, 2015.

Panelist, "Legal Borderlands," Annual Meeting of the Western History Association. October 24, 2015.

Panelist, "Reforming Deportees: Race, Incarceration, and the Settler State during the New Deal Era," Annual Meeting of the Western History Association. October 22, 2015.

Public Talk, "The History of Race and Policing in Los Angeles," LAPD Trust Talks organized by the Downtown Clergy Council, Skid Row. October 3, 2015.

"Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment," plenary panel, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians. St. Louis, Missouri. April 18, 2015.

“Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment,” Immigration Conference, Columbia University. April 4, 2015.

“Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment,” Department of History, Yale University. March 31, 2015.

Panelist, “Is there an LA School of Western History?” Western History Association Annual Meeting. Newport Beach, California. October 17, 2014.

Presenter, “Borderlands,” NEH-Newberry Workshop. Chicago, Illinois. June 23, 2014

Lecture, “Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Incarceration,” University of California, Davis Law School. September 11, 2014.

Public Lecture, “Caged Birds: Conquest and the Rise of Mexican Imprisonment,” University of California, Santa Barbara. May 20, 2014.

Public Talk, “Caged Birds,” Linfield College. McMinnville, Oregon. May 6-7, 2014.

OAH Distinguished Lecture at University of Missouri. April 24, 2014.

Panelist, Mass Incarceration/Mass Deportation,” UCLA Labor Center. April 19, 2014.

Discussant, UCLA-COLEF Migration Conference. November 22, 2013.

Keynote Discussant for Douglas Blackmon’s Talk, “Slavery by Another Name,” Historians Against Slavery Conference. Cincinnati, Ohio. September 19, 2013.

Workshop for K-12 History teachers on California History. UCLA History-Geography Project. June 13, 2013.

TAH-OAH Public Talk, “A History of U.S. Immigration Control.” Rockford, Illinois. January 26, 2013

TAH workshop, “California Under Three Flags,” UCLA History-Geography Project. January 22, 2013.

OAH Distinguished Lecturer Public Talk, “Hoboes in Heaven: Race, Manifest Destiny, and the Rise of Los Angeles,” Purdue University. March 7, 2013.

Public Talk, “The Invention of Immigrant Detention,” University of California, Berkeley, Boalt Law School. March 20, 2014.

Book Talk, *MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*, at the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, University of Washington, Seattle. May 17, 2012.

Keynote Address, “Amnesty or Abolition? Felons, Illegals, and America’s Unfinished Abolition Movement,” Immigration Policy and Reality Symposium, San Jose State University, April 13, 2012.

Working Paper, “Rebellion from the Jail: A History of Community, Incarceration, and Revolution in Los Angeles, 1900 – 1910,” Sunbelt Prisons Conference, Southern Methodist University, March 24, 2012.

Book Talk, *MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* at the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego. February 21, 2012.  
Public Lecture, “Hobos in Heaven: Tramps, Chain Gangs, and the Rise of Los Angeles,” University of Indiana. February 26, 2012.

Public Talk, “Amnesty or Abolition: Felons, Illegals, and America’s Unfinished Abolition Movement,” Boxcar Books, Bloomington, Indiana. February 26, 2012.

Conference Paper, “Rebellion from the Jails: A History of Incarceration and Community in Los Angeles, 1907-1910,” Sunbelt Prisons workshop, University of Colorado, Boulder. September 15-16, 2011

Keynote Address, Latino/a Scholars Luncheon, 2011 American Historical Association-Pacific Coast Branch Meeting. Seattle, Washington. August 11, 2011.

K-12 Teacher Training, “History of Immigration Control,” Denver, Colorado School District. July 11, 2012. Los Angeles, California.

Panel Participant, “Prison State: Incarceration in California,” UCLA Department of History, Why History Matters series. Autry Museum. May 11, 2011.

Panel moderator, conference for the UC Center for New Racial Studies. UCLA. April 22, 2011.

Presenter, “*MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*,” Critical Race Studies Symposium – Race and Sovereignty. UCLA Law School. April 2, 2011.

Book Talk, “*MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*,” Arizona State University. March 25, 2011.

Keynote Address, “Beyond Borders: Migration and the Next California,” Symposium to celebrate the launching of *Boom: A Journal of California* (University of California Press). Davis, California. March 10, 2011.

Presenter, “Hoboes in Heaven: Tramps, Convict Labor and the Rise of Los Angeles, 1880-1910,” Autry Western History Workshop. November 30, 2010

Panelist, “Hoboes in Heaven: Tramps, Convict Labor and the Rise of Los Angeles, 1880-1910,” Latin American Studies Association. Toronto. October 8, 2010.

Book talk, “*MIGRA! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*,” UCLA Law School. October 4, 2010.

Panel moderator, Forty Years of Ethnic Studies at UCLA. May 13, 2010

Panelist, “Crossing Borders, Creating Borders: Nations, Migrants, and Constructions of Law,” 2009 Annual Meeting of the Association of American Law Schools. San Diego, California. January 9, 2009.



Keynote lecture series, *Los caminos de la exclusión: migración y racismo en la historia de los Estados Unidos de América*. Sponsored by Sociedad y Estado en el México Moderno del Posgrado de Historia y Etnohistoria de la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia y el Proyecto de Investigación “Nación y Extranjería en México.” Mexico City. December 7-11, 2009.

K-12 Teacher Training, “U.S.-Mexico Relations: Immigration Policy,” UCLA History-Geography Project’s Teaching American History Summer Institute. Glendale, California. July 17, 2008.

Panel Participant, “Immigration Control in the Carceral Era,” invited presentation at University of Texas at Austin. 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Hemann Sweatt Civil Rights Symposium. March 26, 2008.

K-12 Teacher Training, “Gold Rush to Gold Rush: African American Migration to California, 1848 to 1944,” presentation for the National Center for History in the Schools. University of California, Los Angeles. August 17, 2007.

K-12 Teacher Training, “The Long Civil Rights Movement: New Strategies in Teaching the Civil Rights Movement,” presentation for the UCLA History-Geography Project’s Teaching American History Summer Institute. Glendale, California. July 28, 2007.

Training Workshop, “Where Do We Go From Here?: New Strategies in Teaching Late Twentieth Century American History,” 2007 OAH Community College Workshop at El Camino Community College. Torrance, California. June 23, 2007.

K-12 Teacher Training, “A History of the Problem of Illegal Immigration at the U.S.-Mexico Border,” presentation for the Latin American Immigrants and Mobile Communities in the United States Conference for Teachers, sponsored by the UCLA Latin American Center. April 20, 2007.

K-12 Teacher Training, “The Making of MexAmerica: Race, Migration, and Incorporation in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” presentation for the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles. January 19, 2007.

Chair, “Smuggling in the Southwest Borderlands: State Regulation and Resistance,” panel at the 2007 Annual Conference of the Western History Association. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. October 3-6, 2007

“The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943-1954,” presented at the Annual Conference of the Organization of American Historians held from April 19-22, 2006 in Washington, DC.

“Negotiating the Barrier: Migration Control and Social Order between the U.S. and Mexico during the Bracero Era, 1942 – 1964,” presented at the Latin American Studies Association 2004 Conference held from October 7-9, 2004 in Las Vegas, Nevada.

“Constructing the Criminal Alien: A Historical Framework for Analyzing Border Vigilantes at the Turn of the 21st Century” presented at the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego. La Jolla, California. October 7, 2003.

“Distant Origins: The U.S. Border Patrol and the Mexican Roots of Race in the United States, 1924-1965” presented at the XI Reunion de Historiadores Mexicanos, Estadounidenses y Canadienses. Monterrey, Mexico. October 1-4, 2003.